

582 contamination by sexual contact on the part of the *pohupohu* and *ʻomutu*. I have no evidence that would show any close ceremonial relationship or other relationship of importance between the *ʻomutu* and the *pohupohu* after the *ʻomutu* had attained maturity.

The most approved of all marriages was between cross cousins, though this was not a fixed rule of marriage. For a man to marry his deceased brother's wife or a woman her deceased sister's husband was highly approved though not obligatory. So far as I could ascertain, there was no first night right in the Marquesas on the part of brothers or of any other than the true husband.

I was told in Pua Ma'u that a man and a woman who desired to make a proper marriage should be related in some way, for two reasons: first, in order to keep all the property of each within the family and to prevent its distribution; and secondly, so that a man's wife could wash her husband's waist cloth, or beat the cloth for his loin cloth. (None but a man's relatives could touch his loin cloth.)

543 When a woman undertook to live with a man, she placed herself under
837 his authority. If she cohabited with another man without his permission, she was beaten or, if her husband's jealousy was sufficiently aroused, killed. It often happened that later the man himself was killed for revenge by the woman's family. I have been told that a native woman was, and is, always proud when her husband beats her, because by the strength of his jealousy is measured the strength of his devotion. If a woman was unhappy with her husband, she could return home or she could go to live with another man, in which case there would be likely to be trouble between the two men. According to Père Jean (19) peaceful separation by mutual agreement was rare. It seems evident, however, from discussion of the matter with informants, that separation was common and violent results on account of excessive jealousy very uncommon. If a woman were overwhelmed with sorrow and jealousy on account of the unfaithfulness of a man, it does not appear that she would attempt to revenge herself either on the other woman or on her husband, but rather that her grief would lead to suicide by taking poison or hanging herself. Discussion of this matter with informants leads me to believe that such a course was by no means infrequent with women. Père Jean says that women sometimes followed this course with the intention of returning after death as *vehine hae*, or evil spirits, to haunt the surviving husband and his new wife.

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are often used for this purpose, as a result of which one often [824] hears males jokingly refer to "the tired banana" (*meika pa'u pa'u*) before girls who might have been indulging in the activity. [522]

Incest is by no means unheard of in the Marquesas: in fact, many Tahitians cite incest as one of the distinguishing characteristics of /56/ Marquesan sexual behavior which, however, is a wild exaggeration. 835

Now, the incest tapu are no longer clear. Furthermore, it is uncertain what the former practices were. On the parental generation, the tapu extends to both parents' relatives of the opposite sex of ego, regardless of age. In cases where mother's sister is almost equal in age to ego, the tapu still holds. Even in cases where a male's mother's sister is extremely promiscuous, sexual relationships are forbidden.

On ego's generation, tapu apply to all siblings of opposite sex and to classificatory siblings of the opposite sex (cousins). How far out these tapu extended could not be determined. In marriage there is a kind of semisanctioned relationship between in-laws of the opposite sex. Intercourse between a man and his wife's sisters, or a woman and her husband's brothers, is quite common. One informant described how he repeatedly induced his wife to stay overnight at her parents' home so that he would have access to her younger sister, who he preferred.

In case of death, there is a preference shown toward the levirate. The son of an informant was killed while pearl-diving in the Tuamotu archipelago in August 1956, leaving a wife and three children. The informant immediately dispatched a younger son to the widow, who was residing in Tahiti, with the hope that the son could replace his brother in the family. He said that it would be "nice" because the two boys were /57/ of the same family, hence the children would not have to grow up with an alien father who might not love them as much. 587 ●

Actual cases of incest within the nuclear family are few, but receive much publicity. During the author's stay 835